

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 011833 TOSEC 010018

NODIS

LONDONFOR AF ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, UG

SUBJECT: TELEGRAM TO KINSHASA FOR APPROVAL BY SECRETARY

REF: STATE 011832

FOLLOWING IS DRAFT TELEGRAM TO KINSHASA REFERRED TO REFTEL
FOR APPROVAL BY SECRETARY:

1. SUMMARY: WITH THE AIMS OF (A) MODERATING AMIN'S
REACTIONS TO INEVITABLE US CRITICISM OF HIS HUMAN RIGHTS
PERFORMANCE, (B) PERHAPS AMELIORATING THAT PERFORMANCE
AND (C) ESTABLISHING A BETTER WAY TO COPE WITH THE
THREAT AGAINST AMERICAN CITIZENS IN UGANDA--WE HAVE
DECIDED TO ESTABLISH DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE UGANDAN

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LEADER. YOU ARE ASKED TO BRING MOBUTU INTO THIS
ENDEAVOR. OUR CONSUL IN LUBUMBASHI, PARKER BORG, WILL
BE SELECTED TO VISIT UGANDA PERIODICALLY, IF ALL GOES
WELL. END SUMMARY.

2. BACKGROUND: WE HAVE JUST GONE THROUGH ANOTHER
ROUND OF DECISIONS CONCERNING UGANDA -- THIS TIME

PRECIPITATED BY THE REVELATION THAT UGANDAN PILOTS WERE RECEIVING HELICOPTER TRAINING IN THE U.S. THESE REVELATIONS CAME IN THE WAKE OF OUR DECISIONS TO PUSH FOR A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

AND AT A TIME WHEN CONGRESSMAN PEASE HAS INTRODUCED BILLS WHICH WOULD IMPOSE A TRADE EMBARGO AGAINST UGANDA. IN A WORD, CONGRESS, WHICH HAS VOTED STRONG RESOLUTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA DOES NOT WISH TO BE ACCUSED OF APPLYING A DOUBLE STANDARD WHEN IT COMES TO UGANDA. THUS, THE PRESSURES ARE GREAT FOR FURTHER MOVES AGAINST AMIN GOING BEYOND OUR CURRENT DECISIONS WHICH PREVENT SALES TO THE UGANDAN MILITARY OR POLICE. AND PROHIBIT VISAS FOR MILITARY OR SECURITY RELATED VISITORS/ OR TRAINEES.

3. IN DECIDING WHETHER TO MOVE BEYOND OUR CURRENT POSITION, WE WERE FACED WITH TWO IMMEDIATE QUESTIONS: WHETHER OR NOT TO SUPPORT THE PEASE BILLS AND WHETHER OR NOT TO APPROVE THE LAST PHASE OF A CONTRACT ENTERED INTO BETWEEN THE UGANDAN GOVERNMENT AND HARRIS ELECTRONICS FOR A SATELLITE-GROUND STATION-- MICROWAVE COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM. WE DECIDED BOTH TO OPPOSE THE PEASE BILLS AND TO APPROVE THE HARRIS CONTRACT, OT BECAUSE WE DO NOT ABHOR AMIN'S ATROCITIES, BUT BECAUSE WE ARE RELUCTANT AT THIS POINT TO MOVE INTO SECRET

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PURELY COMMERCIAL SANCTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS GROUNDS. THE PRECEDENT SUCH AN ACTION COULD SET WORLDWIDE AND THE LIKELY RETALIATION AGAINST OUR CITIZENS IN UGANDA WERE AT THE HEART OF OUR DECISIONS.

4. JUST AS WE CONSIDERED AMIN'S LIKELY REACTION TO NEGATIVE DECISIONS WHEN HE WOULD LEARN OF THEM THROUGH THE PRESS OR THROUGH THIRD PARTIES, WE ARE ALSO CONCERNED THAT HE MAY MISINTERPRET OUR DECISIONS ON THE PEASE BILLS AND THE HARRIS CONTRACT, UNLESS THEY ARE CAREFULLY EXPLAINED TO HIM IN ADVANCE. WE RECALL THE GREAT STORE AMIN LAYS BY HIS COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH US AND THE FASCINATION HE HAS WITH HIGH TECHNOLOGY ITEMS. WE REMEMBER THAT HE HAS CONSISTENTLY ASKED FOR DIRECT CONTACT WITH A USG REPRESENTATIVE. AND ON THE BASIS OF A PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF AMIN, WE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT HIS ACTIONS AND REACTIONS MIGHT BE MODERATED IF HE IS APPROACHED IN THE PROPER WAY.

5. DIRECT CONTACT: WE PROPOSE THAT AF DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARROP MEET WITH AMIN. HIS APPROACH WILL BE ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

-- -- DESCRIBE THE PRESSURES EMANATING FROM CONGRESS AND ELSEWHERE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR MUCH STRONGER MEASURES AGAINST UGANDA, ON HUMAN RIGHTS GROUNDS.

-- EXPLAIN WHERE THE USG IS ALONG THE SPECTRUM OF SANCTIONS, POINTING OUT THAT WE HAVE, FOR THE MOMENT, RESTRICTED OURSELVES ESSENTIALLY TO MILITARY AND SECURITY-RELATED ITEMS AND ACTIVITIES.

-- POINT OUT THAT THE DECISIONS NOW FACING US -- THE PEASE BILLS AND THE HARRIS CONTRACT -- COULD MOVE US INTO COMMERCIAL SANCTIONS, A PORTENTOUS STEP.

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-- EMPHASIZE THAT WE HAVE DECIDED NOT TO CROSS THE BOUNDARY INTO PURELY COMMERCIAL SANCTIONS, BUT FOR US TO OPPOSE THE PEASE BILLS, APPROVE THE HARRIS CONTRACT AND GENERALLY RESIST PRESSURES FOR A COMPLETE BREAK -- CERTAIN UNDERTAKINGS MUST BE ARRIVED AT:

-- A) WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE SANCTITY OF HUMAN LIFE IS A UNIVERSALLY SHARED VALUE AND BELIEVE THAT THE UGANDAN GOVERNMENT AND THE USG CAN AND SHOULD DISCUSS THIS AND OTHER QUESTIONS. CERTAINLY, WITHOUT SOME EVIDENT PROGRESS IN UGANDA, THE PRESSURES ON THE USG TO MOVE INTO STRICTER SANCTIONS WILL PERSIST AND WILL PROBABLY PREVAIL.

-- B) WE WOULD FURTHER HOPE THAT ADDITIONAL UGANDAN REQUESTS FOR COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT COULD BE HELD OFF FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD SINCE THESE PLANES FALL ON THE BORDERLINE BETWEEN MILITARY AND COMMERCIAL USES. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT WE HAVE ALREADY, FOR EXAMPLE, DISAPPROVED THE SALE OF A USED 707.

-- C) AND LASTLY, WE WOULD LIKE TO SET UP A REGULAR CHANNEL OF DIRECT COMMUNICATION. WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO REESTABLISH OUR EMBASSY IN KAMPALA, BUT WE DO AGREE THAT REGULAR CONTACT BETWEEN THE UGANDAN GOVERNMENT IN KAMPALA AND A USG REPRESENTATIVE IS IN BOTH OUR INTERESTS.

-- IN THIS REGARD, WE PROPOSE TO DESIGNATE OUR CONSUL IN LUBUMBASHI AS THE AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE WHO WOULD TRAVEL PERIODICALLY TO UGANDA TO MEET WITH UGANDAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, THE GERMAN EMBASSY WHICH REPRESENTS OUR INTERESTS, US CITIZENS AND AMERICAN BUSINESS INTERESTS. THE PURPOSE OF THIS DIRECT CHANNEL OF

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COMMUNICATION WOULD BE TO PURSUE THE DIALOGUE WE HAVE BEGUN AND TO ADDRESS WHATEVER PROBLEMS MAY ARISE.

6. MOBUTU'S ROLE: MOBUTU HAS SEVERAL TIMES PLAYED A VERY USEFUL ROLE AS INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN US AND AMIN. BUT HIS EFFECTIVENESS HAS BEEN PROGRESSIVELY ERODED BY OUR REFUSAL HITHERTO TO PRODUCE WHAT AMIN HAS BEEN ASKING MOBUTU TO ARRANGE -- THE CHANCE TO TALK WITH A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE USG. NOW THAT WE HAVE DECIDED ON OUR OWN TO ESTABLISH SUCH A DIALOGUE, WE SEE BENEFITS FLOWING FROM USING MOBUTU TO SET UP THE CONTACT.

-- FIRST OF ALL, WE HOPE THAT MOBUTU CAN STRUCTURE THE MEETING IN A WAY WHICH WILL EVADE AMIN'S PROPENSITY FOR PUBLIC GRANDSTANDING. SPECIFICALLY, WE WOULD PREFER TO MEET WITH AMIN IN ZAIRE, SAY AT GBADOLITE. IF IT WERE NECESSARY TO GO TO KAMPALA--AND HERE WE WOULD RELY ON MOBUTU'S JUDGEMENT -- WE TRUST THAT MOBUTU COULD MAKE AMIN UNDERSTAND THAT IT HAD TO BE DONE QUIETLY.

-- SECONDLY, MOBUTU CAN LEAD AMIN TO BELIEVE THAT IT WAS HE, MOBUTU, WHO HAS HELD THE AMERICANS BACK FROM TOUGHER SANCTIONS AND WHO HAS SUGGESTED THE NEED FOR A DIALOGUE. (THIS SHOULD INCREASE MOBUTU'S LEVERAGE OVER AMIN AND THAT MAY COME IN HANDY IN THE FUTURE).

-- THIRDLY, MOBUTU CAN FOREWARN AMIN THAT WHILE HE HAS ADVISED US NOT TO MAKE SPECIFIC REQUESTS IN TERMS OF PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS, HE KNOWS THAT THIS QUESTION IS THE BEDROCK OF OUR CONCERNS. TUS, AMIN MIGHT HIMSELF RAISE THE ISSUE AND OFFER SOME GESTURE THAT DEMONSTRABLY SAVES LIVES.

-- LASTLY, MOBUTU CAN EMPHASIZE THAT PARKER BORG WAS CHOSEN PRECISELY BECAUSE HE IS LOCATED IN ZAIRE -- A FRIENDLY COUNTRY. THIS CONNECTION WILL ALLOW MOBUTU
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TO CONTINUE TO PLAY A ROLE AS THE CONTACT IS PURSUED.
(FYI - IT WILL ALSO KEEP MOBUTU ENGAGED IN OUR ENDEAVOR. END FYI)

7. ACTION REQUESTED: WE HAVE GIVEN YOU THE FULL BACKGROUND ON OUR RATIONAL AND OBJECTIVES. YOU NEED NOT DISCUSS ALL OF THE ABOVE WITH MOBUTU, BUT USE WHAT

YOU DEEM IMPORTANT TO BRING HIM TO SET UP THE MTG AS WE
WISH IT. WE SHOULD MOVE VERY QUICKLY SINCE THE
DECISION ON THE PEASE BILLS AND THE HARRIS CONTRACT
COULD BECOME PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE AT ANY TIME. HARROP
IS READY TO TRAVEL AS SOON AS YOU LET US KNOW WHERE THE
MEETING WILL BE. HE WOULD, OF COURSE, COME FIRST TO
KINSHASA TO MEET WITH MOBUTU AND THEN MOVE TO SEE AMIN. CHRISTOPHER

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